

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

NOV 30 PM 1:48

X  
TOP SECRET 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION ONE OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WHS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT THIEU'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT NIXON.

BEGIN TEXT. QUOTE

SAIGON, NOVEMBER 26 1972

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I WOULD LIKE TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THE OPPORTUNITY OF MY SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DR. NGUYEN PHU DUC'S CALL ON YOU TO SEND YOU MY WARM PERSONAL REGARDS AND MY APPRECIATION FOR THE FRANKNESS OF YOUR MESSAGES TO ME IN THE PAST FEW DAYS.

I HAVE STUDIED VERY CAREFULLY YOUR MESSAGES AND THE REPORTS FROM MY AMBASSADORS IN PARIS ON THE MEETINGS BETWEEN YOUR REPRESENTATIVES AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

HIS EXCELLENCY RICHARD M. NIXON,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON D.C.

IT HAS NOW BECOME CLEAR TO ME THAT AFTER FOUR DAYS OF TALKS, THE COMMUNIST SIDE HAS NOT SHOWN ANY GOOD WILL IN CONSIDERING THE MODIFICATIONS WE HAVE PROPOSED TO THE DRAFT AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR. ON THE CONTRARY, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE DISPLAYED EXTREME INTRANSIGENCE BY AGAIN RAISING THEIR UNREASONABLE DEMANDS. THEY OBSTINATELY REFUSE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM POSED BY THE PRESENCE OF OVER 300,000 OF THEIR TROOPS IN THE SOUTH, WHICH WILL STAY ON EVEN AFTER THE PEACE AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED. THEY ALSO TRY TO IMPOSE ON US A STRUCTURE OF POWER CALLED THE "NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD" WITH THREE EQUAL SEGMENTS WHOSE FUNCTIONS FAR EXCEED THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF AN ELECTION COMMISSION AND INFRINGE UPON THE LEGAL PREROGATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT.



AS I HAVE CLEARLY STATED IN MY LETTER TO YOU ON NOVEMBER 13, 1972 AND IN THE MEMORANDUM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ON THAT SAME DATE, I VIEW THAT THOSE TWO PROBLEMS ARE BASIC PROBLEMS ON WHICH DEPENDS THE LIFE OR DEATH OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATION.

ON THE FIRST BASIC PROBLEM WHICH IS THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN THE SOUTH AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT, I WISH TO STRESS HERE THAT IT IS A PROBLEM OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO US.

AS STIPULATED BY THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIETNAM, NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM ARE TWO DISTINCT ZONES AND PENDING REUNIFICATION THEY HAVE TO RESPECT EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY. HOWEVER, NORTH VIETNAM IN ITS RELENTLESS PURSUIT OF ITS POLICY OF EXPANSION AND DOMINATION HAS BLATANTLY VIOLATED THESE AGREEMENTS.

IT HAS SENT ITS TROOPS TO WAGE AGGRESSION AGAINST SOUTH VIETNAM FOR MORE THAN 15 YEARS, AND MORE RECENTLY THEY OPENLY VIOLATED THE INTERNATIONAL DEMARCATION LINE BY LAUNCHING THEIR MASSIVE INVASION LATE MARCH OF THIS YEAR.

ALTHOUGH THIS ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE COMPLETELY FAILED, THE COMMUNISTS HAVE NOT YET RENOUNCED THEIR OBJECTIVES AND HAVE NOT PUT AN END TO THEIR AGGRESSION.

THE VICTORY THE COMMUNISTS COULD NOT ACHIEVE BY THE FORCE OF ARMS ON THE BATTLEFIELDS THROUGHOUT THESE YEARS AND ESPECIALLY DURING THE PAST SEVEN MONTHS, THEY STILL TRY TO ACHIEVE IT THROUGH THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT ADVANTAGEOUS TO THEIR SIDE, COUPLED WITH A MILITARY OFFENSIVE. AT A LATER STAGE, THEY WILL PROBABLY ATTEMPT A GENERAL UPRISING ONCE ALL US TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN. THE CESSATION OF THE BOMBING AND MINING OF NORTH VIETNAM TOGETHER WITH THE MAINTAINING OF SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM WILL CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE COMMUNISTS TO CARRY OUT THEIR AGGRESSIVE PLANS. THIS IS NOT A SPECULATION BUT THE POLICY WHICH THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN NORTH VIETNAM HAS PUBLICLY ADVOCATED. THEIR CADRES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THIS POLICY BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE CEASEFIRE, AND THROUGHOUT THE POLITICAL PROCESS AS CONTEMPLATED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT.

BY MAINTAINING THEIR TROOPS IN THE SOUTH, BESIDES MILITARY ADVANTAGES, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESS IN SOUTH VIETNAM PREVENTING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FROM EXERCISING THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.



THE 300,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM ARE AGGRESSORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLING OF COUNTLESS INNOCENT SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE. THEY ARE EXTERNAL FORCES, ILLEGALLY INTRODUCED INTO SOUTH VIETNAM. AS LONG AS THEY STAY IN SOUTH VIETNAM, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT EVEN FOR THE SOLDIERS AND POLITICAL CADRES OF THE NLF TO FREELY EXPRESS THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS AND TO OPT FREELY FOR THE POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THEIR CHOICE. A FORTIORI, IT IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE UNARMED CIVILIANS OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

I CAN ASSURE YOU IN ALL SINCERITY THAT IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, WE CAN RAPIDLY AND PEACEFULLY SETTLE THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE NLF AND US. I AM CONFIDENT THAT I WILL SUCCEED BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT AMONG SOUTH VIETNAMESE, THERE ARE NO OBSTACLES THAT CANNOT BE OVERCOME. ONCE THE NLF IS

ABLE TO FREE ITSELF FROM HANOI'S HOLD, IT WILL NOT NECESSARILY ESPOUSE ALL HANOI'S DEMANDS. EVEN THOUGH THE SOUTHERN VIETCONG FIGHT UNDER HANOI'S BANNER, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT ALL OF THEM SHARE THE SAME MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES AS THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS. MORE THAN 200,000 RETURNEES, MOST OF THEM SOUTH VIETNAMESE, ATTESTED TO THIS FACT. THE SMOULDERING DISENCHANTMENT OF MANY ELEMENTS IN THE NLF UNITS WHICH ARE BEING CONTROLLED AND DOMINATED BY COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAMESE CADRES IS WELL KNOWN.

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE **EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**



EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

1975 DEC 30 PM 2 14  
TOP SECRET 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION TWO OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WHS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

THE FEAR THAT THE NLF WOULD NO LONGER SHARE THEIR VIEWS AND SERVE THEIR PURPOSE HAS PROMPTED THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS TO SCATTER THEIR CADRES INTO MILITARY AND POLITICAL UNITS AT THE VILLAGE AND HAMLET LEVEL IN ORDER TO CONTROL AND DIRECT THE SOUTHERN ELEMENTS. THIS PROCESS HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MORE THAN THREE YEARS NOW. THIS IS ALSO A SCHEME TO "SOUTHERNIZE" A GREAT NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE CADRES IN ORDER TO HAVE THEM STAY PERMANENTLY IN THE SOUTH. THIS BRINGS ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE NLF ARMED FORCES WHICH ARE NOW MADE OF 70 PER CENT OR 80 PER CENT NORTH VIETNAMESE ELEMENTS, EVEN IN THE DELTA WHERE IT WAS ASSUMED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY RECRUITING SOUTHERN ELEMENTS FOR THEIR UNITS.

IN BRIEF, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE NLF WILL HAVE WAYS OF ACHIEVING UNDERSTANDING AND RECONCILIATION WITH ONE ANOTHER IF THE NLF COULD BE FREE FROM THE CLOSE SURVEILLANCE OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I AM CONVINCED THAT I CAN ACHIEVE RAPID PROGRESS IN THAT RESPECT.

BUT IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS CONTINUE TO STAY IN SOUTH VIETNAM IN ORDER TO CONTROL AND DIRECT THE NLF PEOPLE, THEN THE LATTER INDEED WILL NOT BE FREE TO EXERCISE THEIR POLITICAL RIGHTS AND THE NLF WILL THUS CONTINUE TO BE THE INSTRUMENT OF THE COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAM, DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVES OF HANOI IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

THERE IS ANOTHER ASPECT TO THIS QUESTION. THE COMMUNIST NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE SEEKING THE TOTAL AND UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE US AND ALLIED FORCES FROM SOUTH VIETNAM WHILE THEY WANT TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLE THAT THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO MAINTAIN THEIR TROOPS IN THE SOUTH. IF THIS IS TO HAPPEN, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS WOULD APPEAR AS THE LIBERATORS OF THE SOUTH WHILE THE US AND OTHER ALLIED TROOPS WOULD BE CAST IN THE ROLE OF AGGRESSORS. AS FOR THE ARVN COMBATANTS WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR THE INDENCE AND FREEDOM OF THEIR COUNTRY, THEY WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS MERCENARIES OF FOREIGN AGGRESSORS.

SUCH A REVERSAL OF THE ROLES WILL HELP ENORMOUSLY THE COMMUNIST IN THEIR SCHEME TO ERASE SOUTH VIETNAM OUT OF THE INDOCHINA MAP, AND TO ESTABLISH THE RULE OF HANOI OVER THE WHOLE VIETNAM FROM THE NA QUAN PASS ON THE CHINESE BORDER TO THE SOUTHERNMOST POINT OF CAMAU.



ON THE SECOND BASIC PROBLEM, RELATING TO THE POLITICAL SOLUTION, WE VIEW THAT THE COMMUNIST TERMS ARE AIMED AT IMPOSING ON US A DISGUISED COALITION GOVERNMENT.

BY THEIR UNREASONABLE DEMANDS, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS MAKE A MOCKERY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION. THEY WANT TO IMPOSE ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE A PREFABRICATED AND ARBITRARY FORMULA WHICH DOES NOT REFLECT THE POLITICAL REALITIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THEIR OBVIOUS PURPOSE IS TO USE THIS FORMULA AS A MEANS TO GRADUALLY TAKE OVER SOUTH VIETNAM AND PUT IT UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL.

FOR OUR PART, REGARDING A POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR SOUTH VIETNAM, OUR ONLY CONCERN IS TO ENABLE ALL SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO FREELY DETERMINE THEIR POLITICAL FUTURE AND CHOOSE THEIR OWN WAY OF LIFE, THROUGH FREE AND DEMOCRATIC PROCESS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, WHEREVER IT MAY COME FROM AND WHATEVER FORM IT MAY HAVE, POLITICAL OR MILITARY.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS ADVOCATED IT AND STATED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION FOR SOUTH VIETNAM SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES, AND SHOULD REFLECT THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLITICAL FORCES. IN THIS REGARD, WE HAVE BEEN GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY YOUR DECLARATIONS THAT WHAT IS IMPORTANT FOR SOUTH VIETNAM IS NOT WHAT OTHER PEOPLE WANT FOR SOUTH VIETNAM, BUT WHAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WANT FOR THEMSELVES.

CONSEQUENTLY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO IMPLEMENT THAT PRINCIPLE IN A CORRECT MANNER. WE CONSIDER THAT IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND AMONG THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION, THERE IS A GROUP OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, UNDER THE NAME OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. WE HAVE GONE A LONG WAY FROM CONSIDERING THE NLF MEMBERS FIRST AS REBELS WITHOUT ANY REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER TO ACKNOWLEDGING THE NLF AS A POLITICAL REALITY, THEN TO ADMITTING THEM TO THE PEACE TALKS, TO INVITING THEM TO HOLD DIRECT PUBLIC OR PRIVATE TALKS WITH US ANYWHERE ANYTIME, AND NOW EVEN ASKING THEM TO JOIN US IN ESTABLISHING THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CONCORD WITH TWO EQUAL COMPONENTS, EVEN THOUGH THEY CONTROL ONLY A VERY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION. AS EARLY AS JULY 1969, WE OFFERED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATION WITH THEM AS TO RESOLVE ALL THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH VIETNAM THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY WAY OF FREE AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. THIS OFFER IS EVIDENCE OF OUR SINCERE GOODWILL IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE THROUGH NATIONAL RECONCILIATION TO END ALL FORMS OF HATRED AND ENMITY.

THE TWO BASIC PROBLEMS I JUST MENTIONED AND WHICH I THINK WILL DETERMINE THE FATE OF THE 17 MILLION AND A HALF SOUTH VIETNAMESE STILL REMAIN THE CORE OF THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT. IN THE FACE OF THE COMMUNIST EXTREME INTRANSIGENCE, WE HAVE SHOWN OUR UTMOST GOODWILL BY PROPOSING VERY FORTHCOMING SOLUTIONS TO THOSE TWO ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS.

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY



EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

1975 DEC 30  
T O P S E C R E T 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE2 EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION THREE OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WHS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

ON THE PROBLEM OF THE PRESENCE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, WE HAVE MADE A VERY CONCILIATING PROPOSAL AND REQUESTED YOUR REPRESENTATIVES TO CONVEY TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE THE FOLLOWING FORMULA: IN THE FIRST PHASE, WHICH IS THE PHASE BETWEEN ALL BELLIGERENTS CONCURRENTLY WITH THE US AND ALLIED TROOPS WHICH WILL HAVE TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM SOUTH VIETNAM WITHIN 60 DAYS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WILL HAVE ALSO TO WITHDRAW COMPLETELY FROM SOUTH VIETNAM BACK TO NORTH VIETNAM WITHIN THE SAME DELAY. THEN THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, WHICH IS THE VICTIM OF AGGRESSION, IS WILLING TO REDUCE THE EFFECTIVES OF ITS ARMED FORCES BY A NUMBER EQUAL TO THE NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS THUS WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. IN THE SECOND PHASE WHICH IS THE PHASE WHICH CONCERNS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AND THE NLF, UPON THE HOLDING OF DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THEM ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SOLUTIONS FOR SOUTH VIETNAM, THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM STANDS READY TO REDUCE THE EFFECTIVES OF ITS ARMED FORCES AND DEMOBILIZE THE TROOPS BEING REDUCED IN EQUAL NUMBERS AND PARALLELLY WITH THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE MEMBERS OF THE NLF ARMED UNITS TO BE DEMOBILIZED. THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES WILL DISCUSS AND AGREE ON THE MODALITIES AND THE TIMING OF THIS PARALLEL DEMOBILIZATION.

ON THE POLITICAL PROVISIONS, WE HAVE ALSO PUT FORTH A CONSTRUCTIVE FORMULA WHICH IS LESS ARBITRARY AND MORE DEMOCRATIC THAN THE COMMUNIST PROPOSAL. WE HAVE PROPOSED A REFERENDUM UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION TO DETERMINE THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF ORGANIZING THE ELECTIONS. NEW PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD WITHIN FIVE MONTHS OF THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. PRIOR TO THE ELECTIONS, THE INCUMBENT PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM WILL RESIGN. AFTER THE ELECTIONS, THE PRESIDENT-ELECT WILL FORM A GOVERNMENT IN WHICH ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE REPRESENTED IN PROPORTION TO THE NUMBER OF VOTES THEY WILL HAVE RECEIVED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. FURTHERMORE THIS NEW ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL COALITION WILL, WITH THE ADVICE OF THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, REVIEW THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM FOR ITS CONSISTENCY WITH THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

WE BELIEVE THAT THESE PROPOSALS ARE VERY FORTHCOMING AND CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A PROMPT AND HONORABLE SETTLEMENT IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS COULD BE BROUGHT TO BE LESS UNREASONABLE.



MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE JUST EXPOSED TO YOU THE REASONS WHY I VIEW THAT ANY FAIR AND LOGICAL SETTLEMENT TO THIS CONFLICT MUST FIRST RESOLVE OUR TWO BASIC PROBLEMS IN A SATISFACTORY MANNER.

AS MY AMBASSADORS IN PARIS HAVE DISCUSSED WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES, I THINK THAT AS LONG AS THOSE VITAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT RESOLVED, THE OTHER POINTS IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT CANNOT BE USEFULLY DISCUSSED.

YOUR REPRESENTATIVES INFORMED MY AMBASSADORS IN PARIS THAT WE ARE NOW FACING A DIFFICULT SITUATION BECAUSE OF THE INTRANSIGENCE OF HANOI, AND THUS WE HAVE TO MAKE AN URGENT DECISION. YOUR REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALSO EXPLAINED TO MY AMBASSADORS THAT IN THE OPINION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THERE ARE ONLY TWO ROADS LEFT TO THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM:

EITHER TO JOIN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN SIGNING THE AGREEMENT IN ITS PRESENT FORM WITH SOME MINOR CHANGES, THUS LEAVING THE TWO BASIC PROBLEMS UNRESOLVED, OR WE WILL HAVE TO FACE THE TERMINATION OF AID FROM THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND LOSS OF SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THIS REPRESENTS AN IMPOSSIBLE CHOICE FOR THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE SINCE THE TWO COURSES OF ACTION THAT ARE OFFERED TO US ARE EQUALLY HOPELESS: EITHER TO ACCEPT AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL DESTROY OUR COUNTRY, OR TO SUCCUMB UNDER THE SUDDEN AND COMPLETE TERMINATION OF ASSISTANCE FROM OUR PRINCIPALY ALLY IN THE FACE OF AN ENEMY WHO CONTINUES TO BE AIDED BY THE ENTIRE COMMUNIST CWMP.

THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM IS WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE STILL WILLING TO HELP AND SUPPORT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE NATION IN ITS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE ALL ALONG BELIEVED IN THE NOBLE GOALS OF THE UNITED STATES AS LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD A FLAG BEARER OF LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES.

NOW THAT I HAVE EXPLAINED THE PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS OF SOUTH VIETNAM, THE DECISION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT TO CONTINUE TO HELP THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO PRESERVE THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE RESTS WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

OUR RELATIONSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP HAVE BEEN BASED ON COMPLETE MUTUAL TRUST AND OUR GENUINE DESIRE TO HELP EACH OTHER IN THE GREAT ENDEAVOUR TO REACH AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT OF THIS WAR. THIS PARTNERSHIP HAS BEEN SEALED AT THE MIDWAY SUMMIT MEETING IN JUNE 1969, AND HAS BEEN FURTHER CORROBORATED BY THE NIXON DOCTRINE WHICH YOU OUTLINED IN GUAM IN MAY 1969 AND STRESSED IN YOUR REPORT TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS ON FEBRUARY 18, 1970.

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**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE**

**EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**



EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

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TOP SECRET 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WHS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

I APPLAUDED THE GREAT WISDOM OF YOUR DOCTRINE.  
I REALIZED THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN NO LONGER MAINTAIN THE  
ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE KEEPER, AND THAT IF THE UNITED STATES  
IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
ALLIED AND FRIENDLY NATIONS, THESE NATIONS THEMSELVES HAVE TO  
CONTRIBUTE ALL THEIR EFFORTS IN THEIR SELF DEFENSE.

I WAS THE FIRST MAN TO APPROVE THE NIXON  
DOCTRINE BECAUSE I CONSIDERED IT LOGICAL, REASONABLE AND JUST  
FOR BOTH THE UNITED STATES WHICH PROVIDES HELP AND THE ALLIED  
COUNTRIES WHICH BENEFIT FROM THAT HELP TO DEFEND THEIR OWN  
INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM.

IN THE CONTEST OF THAT DOCTRINE, I  
ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED THE "VIETNAMIZATION" POLICY WHICH YOU  
ADVOCATED IN ORDER TO HELP THE ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
VIETNAM GROW AND ASSUME BY THEMSELVES THE BURDEN OF THE FIGHTING  
AND REPLACE THE US TROOPS SO THAT THE LATTERS CAN RETURN HOME.  
AT THAT TIME, THE LEADERS OF MANY OTHER ASIAN NATIONS HAD SERIOUS  
MISGIVINGS ABOUT THAT POLICY. WHEN I VISITED THEM SHORTLY A FEW  
DAYS BEFORE YOU AND I MET AT MIDWAY AND ANNOUNCED THE FIRST  
WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTH VIETNAM OF 25,000 TROOPS, I PERSONALLY  
HAD TO EXPLAIN TO PRESIDENT PARK CHUNG HEE AND PRESIDENT CHIANG  
KAI SHEK THAT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE US FORCES HAS TO COME,  
PROVIDED THAT THE UNITED STATES HELP ADEQUATELY THE COUNTRIES  
IN THIS AREA TO ASSUME THEIR OWN DEFENSE.

WHEN YOU VISITED SAIGON AND WE DISCUSSED  
ON THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE VIETNAM WAR, I STILL REMEMBER THAT  
I OBSERVED TO YOU THEN THAT THIS WAR HAS BEEN THE LONGEST WAR  
FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THEREFORE IN MY VIEW, THE  
BEST SOLUTION FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES IS TO HELP  
THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM TO BE SELF-SUFFICIENT IN MILITARY AS  
WELL AS ECONOMIC FIELDS, IN ORDER FOR IT TO GRADUALLY ASSUME  
ALL THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS WAR AND THUS ALLEVIATE THE BURDEN  
FOR THE UNITED STATES. IN THE VIETNAMIZATION PROGRAM, I HOPE  
YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT WHAT I PROMISED YOU TWO YEARS AGO  
HAS BEEN ACHIEVED TO A LARGE DEGREE: AT THE END OF 1972, THE  
ARMED FORCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM WILL ASSUME THE ENTIRE  
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE GROUND FIGHTING AND THUS ENABLE ALL THE  
US ARMY TO WITHDRAW.



I ALSO EXPOUNDED TO YOU AT THAT TIME THE NEED FOR CONTINUED STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL US AIR SUPPORT TILL THE END OF 1973 WHILE WAITING FOR THE "VIETNAMIZATION" OF OUR AIR FORCE TO BE COMPLETED.

I ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE YEARS 1972 AND 1973 WOULD BE VERY CRUCIAL FOR THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS WOULD LAUNCH A BIG OFFENSIVE PRIOR TO THE US ELECTIONS, AND THAT AFTER THE ELECTIONS THERE WOULD BE A DECISIVE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMIES.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AGREED WITH ME THEN. AND MY PREDICTION HAS BEEN PROVEN BY FACTS.

TODAY THE US TROOPS WILL BE COMPLETELY WITHDRAWN IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND THE "VIETNAMIZATION" IS BEING VERY SUCCESSFUL AND ON SCHEDULE. THERE ONLY REMAINS THE "VIETNAMIZATION" OF OUR AIR FORCE WHICH WILL TAKE SOME MORE TIME. THIS ALSO IS ON SCHEDULE.

ALL THAT IS NEEDED NOW IS FOR THE NIXON DOCTRINE TO CONTINUE TO BE APPLIED FOR VIETNAM AS WELL AS FOR OTHER SMALL COUNTRIES IN SOUTH EAST ASIA AS YOU HAD ADVOCATED.

PEOPLE HAVE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS AN OUTSTANDING CASE IF THEY LOOK BACK AND SEE THAT, IN COMPARISON TO KOREA 19 YEARS AFTER THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR, THE UNITED STATES STILL HAS TO MAINTAIN MORE THAN 15,000 TROOPS, AND THAT IN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES STILL HAS TO MAINTAIN 300,000 TROOPS 27 YEARS AFTER THE END OF WORLD WAR II IN ORDER TO PRESERVE PEACE.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS CAN BE PROUD OF THE SUCCESS OF THE "VIETNAMIZATION".

I HAVE LED THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM THROUGH MANY TRIBULATIONS, WITH THE NOBLE HELP OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE HAVE HAD A VERY CLOSE COOPERATION AND PUT MY FAITH IN YOUR DOCTRINE.



IT IS MY HOPE THAT WHEN DR. DUC TALKS TO YOU, HE WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOUND IN GREATER DETAILS ON OUR PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES.

HOWEVER, IF AFTER THAT YOU STILL HAVE POINTS TO CLARIFY THEN, I THINK THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR YOU AND ME TO REVIEW TOGETHER IN COMPLETE FRANKNESS ALL THE ASPECTS OF OUR COMMON ENDEAVOURS TO END THE WAR AND RESTORE PEACE. WE WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO EXPLAIN TO EACH OTHER THE KIND OF PEACE WE ARE SEEKING. WILL WE STRIVE TO ACHIEVE AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT WHICH GUARANTEES FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION FREE FROM FEAR AND COERCION? OR ARE WE RESIGNED TO A SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD HAVE WASTED THE EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES OF OUR SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS, AND WOULD PLACE THE 17 MILLION AND A HALF SOUTH VIETNAMESE UNDER COMMUNIST TYRANNY AFTER SOME INTERVAL?

I BELIEVE THAT THIS IS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT DECISION WHICH WE HAVE TO TAKE.

I HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT IN THE EVENT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE ABSURD DEMANDS OF THE COMMUNISTS, THE UNITED STATES WOULD SEEK A SEPARATE ARRANGEMENT WITH NORTH VIETNAM FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES AND THE RETURN OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR.

IF INDEED THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONERS OF WAR IS AN IMPORTANT QUESTION FOR YOU, I BELIEVE THERE STILL ARE WAYS TO OBTAIN THEIR RELEASE OTHER THAN JEOPARDIZING THE FATE OF THE 17 MILLION AND HALF SOUTH VIETNAMESE.

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

**EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**



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EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

1275 DEC 30 11 4 25  
T O P S E C R E T 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION FIVE OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WHS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUUSINESS

ON THE QUESTION OF GETTING ALL THE US PRISONERS OF WAR BACK BEFORE CHRISTMAS, IF INDEED THAT IS WHAT YOU WANT MOST, I THINK THAT, IN DEALING WITH THE STUBBORN NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNISTS WHO COMPLETELY DISREGARD HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES AND USE THE AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR AS POLITICAL HOSTAGES, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE MORE ADEQUATE AND EFFICIENT MEASURES TO DEAL WITH NORTH VIETNAM AND WITH THEIR MASTERS WHO ARE THE SOVIET UNION AND RED CHINA. I BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD ALSO MOBILIZE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION MORE EXTENSIVELY BECAUSE OUR CAUSE IS RIGHT.

AS REGARDS THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, IN ORDER TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP GRATITUDE TOWARDS THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WE ARE PREPARED TO DO ALL WE CAN FOR THE LIBERATION OF US PRISONERS OF WAR. TO THAT EFFECT, WE ARE READY TO RELEASE ALL THE 10,000 NORTH VIETNAMESE PRISONERS OF WAR IF THIS MAY HASTEN THE DAY FOR THE US PRISONERS OF WAR TO BE REUNITED WITH THEIR FAMILIES. FOR THIS, WE DO NOT EVEN DEMAND THAT NORTH VIETNAM RECIPROCATES IN RELEASING IN RETURN THE LARGE NUMBER OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRISONERS OF WAR NOW IN COMMUNIST HANDS.

I WISH TO RECALL HERE THAT IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS, YOU AND I HAVE PUT FORWARD MANY PEACE PROPOSALS AND PEACE INITIATIVES. ON THOSE OCCASIONS, I PERSONALLY TOOK HEAVY RISKS OF SERIOUS INTERNAL INSTABILITY. IN EACH INSTANCE, YOU TOLD ME THAT THIS WAS THE LAST MILE AND THAT WE SHOULD GO NO FURTHER.

DURING ALL THAT TIME, THE COMMUNISTS MAINTAINED THEIR STUBBORN ATTITUDE AND SYSTEMATICALLY PREPARED FOR THEIR GENERAL OFFENSIVE, WHICH WAS SPEARHEADED BY MANY INFANTRY DIVISIONS, THOUSANDS OF TANKS AND SOPHISTICATED ARTILLERY SWARMING ACROSS THE DMZ LAST APRIL.

FACED WITH THIS RUTHLESS ENEMY, I THINK THAT WE CANNOT PUT OURSELVES AT A GREAT DISADVANTAGE BY IMPOSING DEADLINES UPON OURSELVES. I VENTURE TO SAY HERE THAT THIS WOULD SEEM UNWISE IN SUCH AN IMPORTANT AND COMPLEX ENDEAVOR AS THAT OF ESTABLISHING A LASTING PEACE.



IN ALL THE MESSAGES YOU HAVE SENT TO ME,  
YOU OFTEN SAID THAT WE SHOULD NOT LET THE COMMUNISTS DIVIDE US  
AND EXPLOIT OUR DISAGREEMENTS. YOU ALSO BLAMED THE REPUBLIC OF  
VIETNAM FOR HAVING CREATED OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE COMMUNISTS BY  
REFUSING TO SIGN THE AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, WHEN WE SET TO OURSELVES  
A DEADLINE TO TIE BOTH OF US, AND WHEN THE UNITED STATES KEEPS  
URGING THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM TO MEET THAT DEADLINE, WE ARE  
CREATING VERY GOOD OPPORTUNITIES INDEED FOR OUR ENEMY TO DIVIDE  
US.

BESIDES, THE COMMUNISTS TRY TO EXPLOIT THE  
AWKWARD POSITION IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES NEGOTIATES THE FATE  
OF SOUTH VIETNAM IN PLACE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT.  
THEY MAKE PRESSURE ON THE UNITED STATES TO CONCEDE ON FUNDAMENTAL  
POINTS RELATING TO THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF SOUTH VIETNAM.

AS YOU MAY RECALL, SINCE THE TALKS STARTED  
IN 1968, WE HAVE MANY TIMES PRESENTED OUR VIEWS THAT THE QUICKEST  
AND MOST ELEGANT WAY TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON ENDING THE WAR  
AND RESTORING PEACE IS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO LEAVE THE  
POLITICAL PROBLEMS TO THE VIETNAMESE TO SOLVE BETWEEN THEMSELVES.  
IN THIS REGARD, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN ITS  
STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 26, 1968, SPECIFICALLY DECLARED THAT THE  
NORTH VIETNAMESE DELEGATION MUST TALK DIRECTLY AND SERIOUSLY  
WITH THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM'S DELEGATION, AND THAT THE REPUBLIC  
OF VIETNAM IS TO TAKE THE LEAD AND TO BE THE MAIN SPOKESMAN  
ON ALL MATTERS WHICH ARE OF PRINCIPAL CONCERN TO SOUTH VIETNAM.

WE COMPLETELY AGREE WITH THIS AND BELIEVE  
THAT IT WILL BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS IF THE  
UNITED STATES IS ONLY TO DISCUSS WITH THE COMMUNISTS THE MILITARY  
QUESTIONS OR MATTERS WHICH CONCERN DIRECTLY THE UNITED STATES  
AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, AND THEN HAVE THE  
COMMUNISTS DISCUSS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM ON THE OTHER  
MATTERS WHICH PURELY CONCERN THE VIETNAMESE.

THE UNITED STATES WOULD THEN SUPPORT US AS  
THE CASE MAY BE, IN THE BACKGROUND, AS THE RUSSIANS AND THE  
CHINESE HAVE BEEN DOING WITH THE COMMUNISTS.

THE DELIMITATION OF SUCH AREAS OF COMPETENCE  
IN THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS WILL HELP OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS  
TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT IN MORE REASONABLE TERMS. IN OTHER  
WORDS, WE THINK THAT THE "VIETNAMIZATION" OF THE PEACE WILL BE  
THE BEST WAY TO BREAK THE PRESENT DEADLOCK AND HELP THE SOUTH  
VIETNAMESE IN DECIDING THEIR OWN FATE, AS THE UNITED STATES HAS  
HELPED US TO ASSUME BY OURSELVES THE DEFENSE OF OUR LAND THROUGH  
THE "VIETNAMIZATION" OF THE WAR.



FINALLY I MUST SAY IN ALL CANDOR THAT I WAS  
TOTALLY DISMAYED AND COULD NOT COMPREHEND THE POINTS YOU RAISED  
IN YOUR NOVEMBER 23 LETTER ADDRESSED TO ME.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE PRESS CAMPAIGN  
EMANATING FROM SAIGON, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO  
OFFICIAL IN MY GOVERNMENT CONNECTED WITH THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS  
OR ANY OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCY WHO HAS REVEALED ANYTHING RELATED  
TO THE TALKS OR LAUNCHED ANY PERSONAL ATTACKS AGAINST ANY  
AMERICAN OFFICIAL. AS A MATTER OF FACT, MOST OF THE NEWS ABOUT  
THE SO-CALLED RIFT BETWEEN SAIGON AND WASHINGTON ORIGINATED FROM  
THE FOREIGN PRESS CORPS IN SAIGON. MAY I POINT OUT TO YOU THAT  
ONE OF THE TRICKS OF THE FOREIGN PRESS CORPS IN SAIGON IS TO  
QUOTE THEIR STORIES FROM SOURCES ENTIRELY DIFFERENT FROM THE  
ACTUAL SOURCES FROM WHICH THEY GET THEIR STORIES. SO THE QUESTION  
FOR US NOW IS WHETHER WE SHOULD MAINTAIN THE COMPLETE FREEDOM  
OF THE PRESS OR TAKE MEASURES AGAINST THOSE OF THE FOREIGN PRESS  
WHO SPREAD TENDENCIOUS NEWS STORIES.

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**TOP SECRET SENSITIVE**

**EXCLUSIVE EYES ON**



TOP SECRET SENSITIVE  
**EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY**

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T O P S E C R E T 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS SECTION SIX OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WKS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

WITH REGARD TO THE CHARGE THAT THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM IS ENGAGING IN DILATORY TACTICS IN AN EFFORT TO SCUTTLE THE AGREEMENT, I MUST ADMIT THAT I CANNOT UNDERSTAND THE REASON BEHIND SUCH A CHARGE. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD MANY FORTHCOMING PROPOSALS AND INITIATIVES, AND WE HAVE ASKED YOUR REPRESENTATIVES TO FIGHT FOR OUR LIFE OR DEATH PROBLEMS. IT IS HANOI AND NOT US WHO, BY THEIR TOTAL INTRANSIGENCE, HAS SCUTTLED THE AGREEMENT.

CONCERNING THE PROTOCOLS RELATED TO THIS AGREEMENT, I WISH TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE DELAY IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT OUR MILITARY STAFF HAVE BEEN WORKING ON THE BASIS OF THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS, WHILE MACV BASES ITS WORK ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS WILL STAY IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I CONVEY TO YOU IN ALL CANDOR MY VIEWS ON THE MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE PENDING PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE VERY CLOSE AND CONFIDENT RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS ENABLED US TO OVERCOME TOGETHER SO MANY DIFFICULTIES IN THE PAST FOUR YEARS.

THE BLOOD WHICH HAS BEEN SHED BY SO MANY SOLDIERS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE HAS FORGED UNBREAKABLE BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. WE OWE TO THEM TO ENSURE THAT THE SACRIFICES THEY HAVE MADE WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE KIND OF PEACE THEY GAVE THEIR LIVES TO BRING ABOUT. THOSE BRAVE MEN HAVE BEEN CALLED UPON TO FIGHT TO REPEL THE CRUDE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSION IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM TO LIVE IN FREEDOM, AND TO ESTABLISH GENUINE PEACE AND STABILITY FOR THIS PART OF THE WORLD. TO THAT EFFECT, OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS, IN MANY SUMMIT CONFERENCES AND NUMEROUS STATEMENTS, HAVE DECLARED THAT THE PURPOSE OF OUR STRUGGLE IS TO MAKE SURE THAT AGGRESSION SHOULD NOT BE REWARDED, AND THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM ARE ENTITLED TO EXERT THEIR RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF VIOLENCE AND TREAT OF FORCE, AND FREE FROM ANY EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE.



FOR THE REASONS I EXPLAINED ABOVE, THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH THE COMMUNISTS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE ON US CANNOT BY ANY OBJECTIVE STANDARD FULFILL THESE CRITERIA. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY WILL NEGATE ALL THE EFFORTS AND SACRIFICES WE HAVE MADE FOR SO LONG.

I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT AGAIN THAT THE VIEWS I EXPRESS HERE ARE NOT MY PERSONAL ONES THEY REFLECT THE FIRM CONVICTION OF THE 17 MILLION AND A HALF PEOPLE OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, AS EXPOUNDED FORCEFULLY AND UNMISTAKABLY BY THEIR ELECTED LEADERS AT ALL LEVELS, IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE SUPREME COURT, THE PROVINCIAL AND VILLAGE COUNCILS THROUGHOUT THE LAND, AS WELL AS DIRECTLY AND SPONTANEOUSLY IN POPULAR AND SPONTANEOUS DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, UPON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE POINTS IN THE COMMUNIST DRAFT AGREEMENT PUBLISHED BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS IN THEIR RADIO BROADCAST LAST MONTH.

NO ONE CAN DENY THAT SOUTH VIET-NAM IS THE VICTIM OF A BLATANT AGGRESSION COMMITTED BY NORTH VIETNAM. THEREFORE, ANY SUGGESTION THAT OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR ELECTED LEADERS ARE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE FOR REFUSING THE TERMS IMPOSED BY THE AGGRESSIONS IS A MOST CRUEL IRONY.

I AM AWARE THAT, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE UNITED STATES, THIS PROTRACTED WAR IN A FARAWAY LAND HAS BEEN TAXING TOO HEAVILY ON YOUR HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES, THEREFORE, THIS CANNOT GO ON INDEFINITELY. THAT IS WHY YOU HAVE AROUSED GREAT ADMIRATION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND STRONG SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES WITH THE NIXON DOCTRINE, WHEREBY THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO HONOR ITS COMMITMENTS ABROAD, AND WILL HELP OTHER PEOPLES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, EACH MENACED COUNTRY BEING EXPECTED TO PROVIDE THE MANPOWER AND TO DISPLAY THE DETERMINATION IN ITS SELF-DEFENSE. IN THIS REGARD, YOU HAVE CONSIDERED THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AS THE TEST CASE OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE.

I AM PROUD TO SAY THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE DONE FULLY THEIR SHARE IN THIS JOINT UNDERTAKING. AT A TIME WHEN THE UNITED STATES HAS WITHDRAWN HALF A MILLION OF ITS TROOPS, THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES AND PEOPLE HAVE THWARTED A GENERAL OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED THIS YEAR BY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS WITH HUGE AND SOPHISTICATED ARMAMENTS SUPPLIED BY THE COMMUNIST POWERS.



THE AGGRESSORS HAVE BEEN GREATLY WEAKENED BY THAT SETBACK. THE NIXON DOCTRINE HAS BEEN FULLY VINDICATED. WHAT REMAINS IS ONLY TO ACHIEVE WHAT HAS BEEN MOSTLY DONE ALREADY, TO FULFILL OUR COMMON GOALS OF PEACE WITH HONOR, AND A GENUINE AND LASTING PEACE FOR SOUTH-EAST ASIA.

INSTEAD, THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT, AS THE COMMUNISTS NOW TRY TO IMPOSE ON US, WILL FRUSTRATE AND DEFEAT OUR COMMON BASIC PURPOSES, BECAUSE IN THAT SETTLEMENT THE COMMUNIST AGGRESSORS REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OBLIGATION TO WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS CONCURRENTLY WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALLIED TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ALSO DISCARDS THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT, BY THE REFUSAL OF HANOI, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE TWO STATES OF VIETNAM, DEMARCATED BY THE 17TH PARALLEL HAVE TO RESPECT THE DMZ AS WELL AS EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY. FURTHERMORE, IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT NORTH VIETNAM ARROGATES THE RIGHT TO IMPOSE A POLITICAL SOLUTION ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM, WHICH IS BOTH CONTRARY TO THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT AND TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, UNDER WHICH NO STATE IS ENTITLED TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER STATE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES ONE CAN HARDLY WONDER WHY THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AGGRESSORS WHO HAVE BEEN SO UNCOOPERATIVE DURING FOUR YEARS OF PEACE TALKS IN PARIS NOW CLAMOR SO LOUDLY FOR THE PROMPT SIGNATURE OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WITHIN VERY CLOSE DEADLINES.

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TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY



EXCLUSIVE EYES ONLY

TOP SECRET 301440Z NOV 72 SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY  
VIA BUNKER CHANNELS FINAL SECTION OF SEVEN  
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE  
TO: AMEMBASSY SAIGON  
CITE: WHS2260

NOVEMBER 30, 1972

TO: AMBASSADOR BUNKER  
FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

I AM AWARE THAT THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS LOOKS ON FOREIGN AID WITH MISGIVINGS. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WITH YOUR FORCEFUL PERSUASIVE LEADERSHIP, YOU CAN GAIN SUPPORT FOR WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO SAFEGUARD FREEDOM AND THE LONG RANGE SECURITY OF THE FREE WORLD, AS YOU HAVE DONE ON MANY PREVIOUS OCCASIONS IN RECENT YEARS, AND EARLIER THIS YEAR.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS RIGHTLY STATED THAT VIETNAM HAS BECOME A SYMBOL OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, AND THAT THE KIND OF SETTLEMENT FOR VIETNAM WILL DETERMINE THE KIND OF PEACE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. IN FACT, THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE CLOSELY WATCHING THE KIND OF PEACE TO BE MADE IN VIETNAM TO DETERMINE THEIR COURSES OF ACTION IN THE PRESENT AND IN THE FUTURE.

THE ISSUE THEREFORE GOES MUCH BEYOND VIETNAM ITSELF, BUT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CANNOT DO LESS THAN TO CONVEY TO YOU, IN UTMOST SINCERITY AND FRANKNESS THEIR VIEWS ON THIS VITAL MATTER, ON THE BASIS OF THEIR LONG AND INTIMATE EXPERIENCES WITH COMMUNIST TOTALITARIANISM AND EXPANSIONISM, AND BECAUSE THEY WILL HAVE TO LIVE OR DIE UNDER THE SETTLEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED WITH THE COMMUNIST AGGRESSORS.

NO MATTER WHAT ACTION YOU FEEL YOU HAVE TO TAKE UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, I WISH TO ASSURE YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND MYSELF ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR WHAT YOU HAVE DONE IN RELATION TO VIETNAM IN RECENT YEARS. I HOPE AND PRAY THAT OUR GRATITUDE WILL GO FAR BEYOND IT, AND FUTURE GENERATIONS IN VIETNAM WILL REMEMBER YOU AS THE LEADER OF A GREAT ALLIED NATION WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT LASTING PEACE IN FREEDOM FOR VIETNAM AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA.  
WITH KINDEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

THIEU

END OF TEXT

WARM REGARDS

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

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